

UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE
Faculty of Political Sciences
Belgrade, September 2017

At the meeting of the Department of International Studies, held on 30. March 2017, the Master Thesis Defense Commission (hereby the Commission) for the candidate Kubra Emir was formed with the following members: Prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović (academic supervisor), Teaching Assistant MA Aleksandar Milošević and Assistant Professor dr Jelena Vidojević. The Council for the Second and Third Cycle of Studies has accepted the proposal made by the Department.

After reading the master thesis, the Commission is submitting the following report.

REPORT

The master thesis of Kubra Emir entitled "Inadequacy of Peacekeeping Operations Handling With Forced Migration – Case Study: Libya" is comprised of 83 pages. Next to the Introduction and the Conclusion, the master thesis has four comprehensive chapters and the list of references.

In the introductory part, the candidate discusses the main reasons for choosing the following topic; she announces the ways in which the research is going to be approached. Afterwards, the candidate explains the academic and scientific goals of the research as well as the potential contribution to the existing theoretical and empirical studies.

In the first chapter (The Norm of Humanitarian Intervention), candidate tends to explain and to define what humanitarian intervention is. Moral, legal and political dimensions in respect to sovereignty as an old rule of international relations has been touched upon, and then the evolution of humanitarian intervention to responsibility to protect (R2P) are explained comprehensively. The main principles of R2P and operation mode of military interventions are also discussed. The chapter ends with the criticism of military intervention regarding mainly its operation mode.

In the second chapter (Causes and Effects of Migrations), candidate is focused on defying migration, identifying and explaining the main migration motives, and types of

migration with a particular emphasis on forced migration. This chapter explores how migration has gotten into the political agenda. Lastly, how migration has become a concern of international peace and security and became a part of the political agenda are discussed

In the third chapter (Associating Humanitarian Intervention to Forced Migration) is focused on analysis of relation between humanitarian intervention and migration, particularly forced migrations. Why and how they relate each other and to what extent they relate each other will be explained. Abovementioned indicators (timing, operation mode, and regional context) are settled in this chapter. In this regard, the inadequacies of peacekeeping operations in terms of forced migration are indicated. For that, whether there is a legal/official part of peacekeeping operations coping with forced migration is particularly analyzed.

The fourth chapter of the thesis (A Case Study: Libya), represent a case study. The concepts, relations and indicators that are included in first three chapters are actually applied on the case of Libya, which represents an example of humanitarian intervention to a relatively stable country. The intervention in 2011 does not only fit in the framework that has stated above, but also constitutes a great example to display the stated conceptualization. It is suitable example to reveal specified relation, to measure and put forward to what extent intervention affects and changes human flow.

In the concluding chapter, candidate demonstrates that the main hypothesis, has been confirmed. She successfully explained the relation between humanitarian intervention and forced migration using the case of Libya.

In defining the humanitarian intervention, the candidate singled out three particular features of intervention that are ‘use of military force’, ‘without intervened state’s consent’ and ‘for humanitarian purposes’. She further explained the migration, specifically forced migration considering the conditions and circumstances that push people to abandon their homes. She successfully connected humanitarian intervention and forced migration not only in direct way but also throughout violence, conflict and life threatening situations. These are violence as cause of forced migration, violence as cause of humanitarian intervention –and vice versa, humanitarian intervention as cause of forced migration, and forced migration as cause of humanitarian intervention. As main motivation for forced migration is fueled with fear of persecution, violence, conflict and life threatening situations are the major sources of forced migration. In the same manner, humanitarian interventions are motivated by the most serious

international crimes that are characterized by violence. The success of the intervention is determined by the timing, operation mode and the commitment of outside actors, and regarding all these, the outcome may not always be good. Intervention may produce more violence. It may also have counter-productive effect that creates new wave of human flow. When human flow is in large number, the situation may require intervention community to intervene because forced migration is regarded as human suffering, as well.

For this research, candidate anticipated a ‘stable’ state to be intervened in order to measure the impact of the intervention better. She emphasized particular sides of intervention – timing and the operation mode- to comprehend the impact. She also touched upon regional context as a factor to influence to the intervention decision and migration outcomes. In respect to all the setting, the case of Libya has been chosen because the intervention in Libya was the first intervention that was implemented within framework of R2P. It was also unique case as it was showing preconditions for intervention.

Having in mind these articulations, the effects of intervention to forced migration is measured by timing and operation mode of intervention in this study. By doing that, the will of intervening parties was specifically highlighted. That is because of the fact that what trigger the decision of intervention is political will. In this regard, regional context have particular significance. The timing of intervention was chosen to evaluate the effects of intervention because it was claimed that the timing has important impact on the capability of intervention to cope with human suffering which is/should be that main objective of humanitarian intervention. Mass movement does not occur in one day, it takes time. Intervention should not be too late otherwise humanitarian response may need to handle much more problems than it was before. Operation mode was chosen due to the fact that the success of the intervention is measure with the fulfilling the mandate while the mandate project the reasonable prospect for the intervention. If the operation is successful, it is expected to see decrease for violence and forced migration. In this part, the peacekeeping forces with their capability and capacity to handle with multidimensional operations were evaluated. Their ability to engage with the circumstances that necessitate multidimensional assistance was explained. Their functionality to serve fulfilling the mandate at the same time enable stability was touch upon. Inadequacies of humanitarian intervention to forced migration were emphasized. In this regard, technical and operational aspects of operations were explored.

Using the case study of Libya, she illustrated the framework that was given in previous chapters. As being the first representation of R2P in practice, and with unusual timing, Libya constitutes best example for this study. It is because despite of the availability of everything needed to conduct humanitarian interventions, that are mainly political will, military and technical capacities with given authorization, the NATO-led intervention in Libya has failed. Why and what went wrong in Libya is important to evaluate to comprehend inadequacies. Moreover, there were, as expectedly, implications on forced migration. The candidate further concludes in her thesis that although it is not possible to answer ‘what if’ questions in terms of what has already happened, the current situation in Libya does not really project a better situation than that was before. That would be the biggest criticism for this case. Especially the exit from the country while the country was in chaos did not help the situation get better. The chaos sustained insecurity within the country, that drives people to leave, and the conditions for repatriation could not met.

Finally, the Commission is convinced that the candidate Kubra Emir has shown a deep understanding of complicated and contested concepts of humanitarian intervention and its relation with the concept of sovereignty, as well as its practical application. She has quite successfully identified some of the main features of the interrelation between the humanitarian intervention and (forced migrations). By applying the previously developed theoretical framework on the case of Libya, the candidate successfully illuminated all the fundamental shortcomings of the humanitarian interventions, and the ways in which they effect forced migrations. Understanding the intervention in Libya and tracing migration in this country provide valuable insights about the effects of humanitarian intervention on forced migration. The intervention in Libya was put on a setting that functions good in theory but having handicaps in practice.

Based on this, the Commission concludes that the master thesis "Inadequacy of Peacekeeping Operations Handling With Forced Migration – Case Study: Libya" by Kubra Emir fulfils all the formal criteria for the public defence.

The Commission:

Prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović,

MA Aleksandar Milošević,

Assistant Professor dr Jelena Vidojević